DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OFS Also OFS

Padamai is a satellite who is proud of his carving and his tobacco crop.

Maninnau prefers a mechanical guard against the theft of his coconuts.

Fantan the Interpreter has faith in the charm of the "evil bow" against the theft of his areca nuts.

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GF5 Alor GF5



155 parents. Here again, boys, who wear the more highly prized woven cloth, are more privileged than girls, who receive only bark cloth. Both sexes between the ages of eight and twelve hope for the gift of their first shawl. Boys upon request can usually get a man to make them small bows and wooden-tipped arrows, possessions they begin to covet when they are only six or seven. Carrying baskets provided by their mothers are the counterpart for girls. Children of both sexes hope for the hoodlike pandanus raincapes that add so much to comfort during the rainy season, and most mothers see that their children are provided with them, since their manufacture involves only about two or three hours' work.

● 827 All these gifts are small in comparison to the inheritance of fields 153 "when a child is old enough to work" — which usually means between the years of eight and fourteen. Boys and girls alike inherit fields from both fathers and mothers. No distinction is made on a sex basis. The only discrimination is on the basis of industry and aptitude. This inheritance is not so significant as might at first appear. Before the child is told that a particular field is its own, it has probably already helped its parents in cultivating the land. After ownership is transferred, simply 155 by a verbal statement, the field is still worked in collaboration with the family, and in return the child is expected to work in other fields the family owns. The crops raised on a child's field are stored in the loft along with the rest of the year's provisions and are used jointly. The only advantage accruing to the child is that the parents, if they feel they can afford it, will take a portion of the child's produce to the coast to exchange for cloth for his use. In other words, the child's satisfactions from labor are contributing to the larder and perhaps getting the coveted textile. Here again, however, children are largely at the mercy of adults, as portions of the autobiographies indicate. That the advantages are not too patent is shown by the fact that many children have to be forcibly reminded of the virtues of industry.

155 The unreliability of parents toward their children's property gives 867 an Alorese child early opportunity either to learn the ethics basic to 153 adult property dealings or to develop antagonism not only toward the parents but toward the whole system they represent. This point will appear more clearly in the next chapter.

### DISCIPLINE

841 In any discussion of child training, kinds of discipline and the persons who may administer them are of paramount importance. Theoretically, corporal punishment in Atimelang should be administered

lt:Du Bois E-8 (1938-1939) 1944
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x 159 got another. But I shot two only. I was still small and had borrowed the bow. The others had many.

The next day about twenty of us went out again. I got the first one that day, but it was the only one I did get. The others didn't get many either, but we saw a green snake and shot it. The adults frightened the children with it. Manefani said we had better return to the village. [Question.] Neither father nor my older brother was along, but Manefani was in my Main House II and I called him father. We used our nets for the Kaya feast, and after that we didn't hunt any more.

When I was about fifteen, I built a house. It was just a small one that I had to crawl into. I had a small fireplace and slept there at night. One night someone struck the door. I thought it was an enemy and cried and cried. Then I saw it was just Mangata, who was trying to frighten me. I ran and slept with mother and father. Their house was only about a hundred and fifty yards away. The next morning I broke down my small house and burned it. Where the house had been I planted sweet potatoes. Many grew there. I went to dig and roast them whenever I was hungry. I planted sun corn there and between it the slower growing rain corn. Sweet potatoes too were plentiful. When I cut the sun corn, the rain corn was already in blossom. Then the rain corn ripened.

After a time I left this garden and went to Maletsi. I was building a house there. One day while my wife was down in the ravine, I came back and saw that our house had burned down. I built another house there. At this time the people of Mainang were at war. Their enemies, the Kafoi people, came looking for people to kill. They found no one in the gardens, so they burned our house, thinking it belonged to the enemy. After that I said there was no use making houses any more since [383] people just burned them, and we had better go sleep in a rock shelter. So we lived there in a rock shelter for two years. We kept pigs there.
x 159 Fanalarka was building a lineage house. He came and shot my pig. My
● 423 wife, Fungaleni, saw it and called me. I was very angry. I said, "My wife
685 is alone here and you come kill my pig. Maybe you want to sleep with my wife also?" I went to the mandur of File and he gave me a pig. Then the mandur came to litigate against Fanalarka, to make him pay for the pig I had got from him. [This is an attempt to combine the older kalukek system with the new litigation system. Mangma and the mandur both thought they could get a higher price from the killer of the pig in this way.] But when we went to the chief of Karieta, he said he knew nothing about this and that it was my fault. I had to return the pig to the mandur and pay a fine of one rupiah and one small pig. Then

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Fandzeka paid me half a Fekawa snake worth five rupiahs for the pig[34] he had shot. When Fandzeka came and shot my pig we fought, but the old people stopped us, saying it was better to count the pig first and then Fandzeka would pay me later.[35]

After that I didn't want to raise pigs any more. I didn't stay at Mole-[37] ni any longer but returned to Kafukhimi [where his family lived]. While we were at Kafukhimi we cultivated a garden up above the site of Old Kariera. We went every day to the garden. [This was a long discourse.]

Then I built a house below Fungwia. I planted a great deal that year. Then a disease came [influenza epidemic, 1918]. Everyone was sick. I lived there alone. Fungwimi [his wife] was staying in Lawutika with her family. Her father was sick and died. She was sick too. When I was sick I went to stay with *my family* at Kafukhimi. I sent my elder brother with a pig and fifty coins to *my* father-in-law's burial. This disease was after the radish was killed. In the summer they killed the radish, and when the rains started, this disease began too.

[Question.] It was two or three years later that mother and father died. My wife hadn't yet given birth. She did not have children until after *my* father and elder brother died. Foimwa [younger sister] was still small when our parents died. Lemmwa and Mafingwa [younger brother and sister] were adolescent at the time. Tilamwa [another sister] died before mother and father did.

When we gathered the crop in the year of the disease, my wife came to help me. There were a hundred bundles of corn. We stored it at Pukishki. When the rains came the troops arrived and made us move down to the floor of the valley. So all of us moved down [1919]. We had been down there two years when father and Malelaka died. Mother died two years later. Everyone died there. Then I went to the coast and Fungwimi went to her family in Lawutika. I have already talked of this.

*December 5, 1938*

In Kariera when we were small we pounded up red earth [pretending it was red corn]. Then we smeared it on our bodies. Our parents said, "Go wash before you eat. You are like dogs and pigs. Go wash your hands before you come up to eat with us."

Momwa, my paternal uncle, married Kolang. I went to live with them in Aluekowai. One day Momwa went to Paiyope. I followed him. When we reached the Limbur River, I stood on the bank crying; so he turned back in midstream, picked me up in his arms, and carried me across. On the other bank I walked by myself. When we got to Paiyope

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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5 159 preached him for this he threatened that he had been home for breakfast that morning and when [illegible] spoke to him he had answered. He then went on to complain of [illegible] he was having with Manifani, Tilemani's maternal uncle. The [illegible]times to his knowledge Manifani had come 3 159 and helped himself to nuts [illegible] his areca tree. This was done without 4 23 asking or paying. The day [illegible]ore Manifani had come and put a leprosy 6 85 curse, made from the mat[illegible]e newly dead leper, on two of Fantan's trees. This was equivalent [illegible]staking out a claim to their yield. Fantan protested, but to no effect. [illegible] said he was afraid of the curse but later admitted that he had taken a long bamboo pole and removed it after Manifani left. He said that if he was poisoned he would litigate before the kapitan and the radjah. Manifani had a counterclaim against Fantan, the legitimacy of which Fantan did not admit.

*November 29, 1938*

2 159 Fantan began talking again about the leprosy curse that Manifani had put on his areca trees. After speaking for some time as though he had acted alone in the matter, it developed that he had acted with the assistance of Malikaliera, his ranking Male House and an old man of considerable influence. They went to the garden and removed the curse. They said, "If we are guilty of a misdemeanor toward Manifani, may the curse fall on us. If we are not guilty, may the curse rebound on Manifani." Kolmau, wife of Manifani's younger brother, saw them doing this and fought with them about removing the curse. She then went to Manifani and, according to Fantan, told him they had said many insulting things about him—such as that he was a poor man, that he would die soon, and that the spirits would possess him. Fantan denied that they had said all this. This was on the evening of November 27. When Manifani heard this tale from Kolmau, he made a fire and threw it with a curse toward Fantan and Malikaliera.

*December 3, 1938*

On November 30 Fantan went to Kalabahi. He traveled with his father-in-law, with whom he was now on perfectly good terms. He had still not spoken to his mother-in-law. "She is still making a sour face at me." Then he said with evident self-satisfaction that he had slept at home the night of December 1, after his return from Kalabahi. He said that he and his wife were happy together again. He said, "My wife does not go to her home but does meet her mother in the fields. My father-in-law comes to see us, and I ask him to eat."